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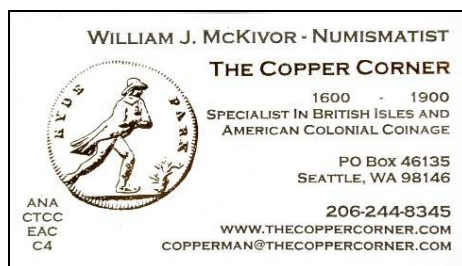
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Consecutive Issue #78, Fall 2019

Table of Contents		Page 3
The Mysterious Auctori Plebis Tokens	Jeff Rock	Page 4
James Conder (continued)	Jon Lusk	Page 25
Unknown Mr. Sims	Andrey Filimonov	Page 26
Another “T” Please	Jon Lusk	Page 32
Officers and contact information		Page 37
The Token Exchange and Mart		Page 37

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Acknowledgements: Cover photos: double strike courtesy of Rod & Joan Widok; standard strike courtesy of Sriro Photo DVD.

The Mysterious Auctori Plebis Tokens¹

by Jeff Rock, San Diego, CA²

The 1787-dated Auctori Plebis tokens and the associated pieces, often (and incorrectly) called "mules" have long been a mystery to collectors. Some varieties of these tokens have been recognized by numismatists since shortly after they were struck, while others remained obscure for a century or two – and at least one seems to have disappeared before our very eyes. The series has been discussed – slightly – by authors on both sides of the Atlantic, yet it has seldom warranted more than a few lines in most works, while the longest detailed study of the series in a reference book has been the single page it merits in Walter Breen's *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial and Coins*. This paper will examine both the 1787 Auctori Plebis token and the group of related pieces, with descriptions and illustrations of the known die varieties; a second paper will examine the "mules." But before we get to the tokens themselves, let's take a brief tour through the even briefer literature on the Auctori Plebis pieces.



Figure One: The 1787 Auctori Plebis token, in the typically seen late die state of the reverse (All photographs in this article are courtesy of the author unless otherwise credited)

While not the first mention of these tokens in a chronological sense, one of the first notices of them in American numismatic literature is in Sylvester S. Crosby's 1875 magnum opus *The*

¹ This article original appeared in Volume 1, Issue 1 of *The Journal of Early American Numismatics (JEAN)*, published by The American Numismatic Society, June, 2018. It is reprinted here through the courtesy of the ANS and editor Christopher McDowell. *JEAN* is a new publication, continuing *The Colonial Newsletter*, in a smaller size but of much greater length.

² The author would like to thank Editor Chris McDowell for repeated readings of draft versions of this article, which caught more typos and grammatical errors than one would have thought possible, and Michael Dickinson for suggestions that made this article stronger, especially in the British literature area where he looked up sources that this writer lacked in his own library. We are fortunate to have readers in the hobby that freely give their time and knowledge to help further numismatic research.

Early Coins of America. The Crosby of our own times, Eric P. Newman, has stated that this book is “truly the keystone to any numismatic library of American coinage” and that the “standard of excellence which the book set has influenced those who work in the same field to do research of the highest scholarship.”³ Since the Crosby book holds such a place of esteem in the world of colonial numismatics – and is still quite useful today, over 140 years after its publication – it seems fitting to start our examination in the pages of that work. Crosby wrote that the “Auctori Plebis is a token of English origin, which from its resemblance to the coins of Connecticut, is by many classed with the issues of that State. We are in ignorance as to its maker, but as the piece is represented in a book of engravings of English tokens, entitled ‘*The Virtuoso’s Companion*,’ published in England in 1796, we consider the place of its origin as satisfactorily established, and it was probably struck for use in America.”⁴ A specimen of this 1787 issue is illustrated on *Plate IX* of Crosby’s work as No. 15.

Crosby goes on to give a description of the dies and notes that “(t)he device of this reverse is found upon three other English tokens” but gives no description of those tokens. There are actually more than three token varieties that use a die similar in style to the 1787 Auctori Plebis token reverse. There are 2 different dies in the British Provincial Token series that have the Auctori Plebis reverse style, paired with 4 other obverse dies to make 6 major design types and with the different edge varieties there are a total of 29 known varieties for collectors to pursue, so Crosby’s total was quite far off (though, to be fair, American collectors of the era paid almost no attention to the edge of their coins, especially since most colonial era pieces only came with a plain edge and most Federal coinage had a standard edge for each denomination and/or type).⁵

THE BRITISH TOKEN CONNECTION:

Before we turn to the 1787-dated Auctori Plebis tokens we will need to look at the tokens that have the same reverse style and which Crosby touched upon. These tokens are found in two different chapters in Dalton & Hamer’s standard reference for the series, *The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century*.⁶ An illustration of the tokens and their die linkage can be found in Figure Two below. The first group listed (alphabetically by county) are the Emsworth halfpennies, D&H Hampshire 9-12, a total of four major types, but with different edges making 18 different varieties (including a few that were discovered after the D&H reference was written). There are two different dies that have a design similar to the reverse of 1787 Auctori Plebis token, one dated 1793 and the other 1794. For the Hampshire issues both these dies were paired with two other dies, one featuring a sailing ship with the legend EMSWORTH above and a wreath below, the other with a dove flying near a cornucopia with the legend PEACE AND PLENTY. Dalton & Hamer consider the seated figure die as the reverse on Hampshire 9 and 10, while on the Hampshire 11 and 12 varieties they consider it the obverse; the minters probably did not make that distinction, they just needed two dies to strike a token and for issues like this that lacked the name of a merchant that would redeem them for specie they probably gave no thought

³ Eric P. Newman, “Bibliographical Forward,” in the 1983 Quarterman Publications reprint of Crosby (the best reprint produced).

⁴ Sylvester Sage Crosby, *The Early Coins of America*, p. 342.

⁵ See Appendix One for a list of the known edges and planchet variations found on these varieties.

⁶ The abbreviation “D&H” will be used in this article to refer to this book and to attributions of tokens within.

to which side would be considered the front or the back. Most collectors would probably view the side with a seated Britannia figure to be the reverse though, as it is with British copper coinage (and the colonial American and state coinages that imitated that design style), but some earlier works also called this one die both obverse and reverse in their listings and the authors continued that tradition.

All of the Hampshire 9 and nearly all of the Hampshire 10 varieties come with an edge reading PAYABLE AT THE WAREHOUSE OF JOHN STRIDE which suggests that these two die pairings were legitimately made on behalf of that person. The Hampshire 11 and 12 each come with 5 or more different edges – none of which are for John Stride, so these two types were likely not made for a single merchant but rather struck in bulk for jobbers who would then try to push them into circulation at the full halfpenny value, despite the tokens having no chance at later being redeemed for that amount by any merchant, though Stride may have redeemed some inadvertently since it would be difficult to examine the edge of every token brought to him.

The other use of this design type is found in the Norfolk section and are the halfpennies issued for R(obert) Campin, a haberdasher in Norwich, which are listed as Norfolk 20-21, two major types with 11 varieties known including different edges (also including a few that discovered after the D&H reference was written). There are two different obverse dies paired with these reverses, though both are fairly similar in design – they both have a crossed knife and fork, with a stocking and a glove above and the legend reading R * CAMPIN * HABERDASHER around the top and * GOAT * LANE * NORWICH in the exergue. On the first die the stocking is straight, on the second die it is bent, and on the second die the knife and fork are crossed in the opposite direction from the first. For both varieties the seated figure is considered the reverse by Dalton & Hamer. Unlike the Hampshire issues each obverse was paired with just one reverse. The large number of edges for these two tokens is suspicious, but Campin is known to have been in business at that address until 1805 (and continued in business at a different address until at least 1822). The myriad edges on these two tokens may represent special pieces made by the coiner for sale to collectors – or perhaps just the using-up of leftover planchets from previous orders. None of the Campin tokens has an edge that refers to him or his place of business, and most have a vague edge that is simply CURRENT EVERY WHERE⁷.

As can be seen in Figure Three, the seated figures on the British tokens are very similar, though photographic overlays later in this paper will show that they are not exact matches. The letter punches appear the same on both dies and both were cut by either Peter or (far more likely) Thomas Wyon, and struck by Peter Kempson.⁸ Since both the 1793 and 1794 dies are paired

⁷ See Jon Lusk, *British and Irish Tradesmen and their Copper Tokens of 1787-1804*, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 2013, page 143. Lusk does not assign an engraver for the Campin tokens, but credits Wyon for the Hampshire 9 and 10 varieties. Since both the 1793 and 1794-dated seated figure reverse dies are paired with the Hampshire and Norfolk dies, Wyon may have cut the R. Campin obverse dies as well. However, those dies are unsigned and could have been cut by any engraver that Kempson worked with. Lusk notes that he considers the Campin tokens to be legitimate trade tokens despite the use of an edge that is often found on spurious or suspect tokens (the CURRENT EVERY WHERE edge).

⁸ Thomas Wyon was the eldest of four brothers and Peter the second eldest. Both were engravers and die sinkers and were in business together for a few years. Unfortunately few of their token works are signed and contemporary sources aren't often helpful since they usually just cite "Wyon" without elaborating which one. However, it appears Thomas handled more of the token designs in the late 18th century while Peter produced more of the early 19th century tokens. See L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, 1916, Volume IV for more information on the colorful and talented Wyon family;

with both the ship and cornucopia dies in the Hampshire series (D&H Hampshire 9 and 10), we can be certain that they were both used by the same maker and, given the die sharing on the Hampshire issues, that they were used at around the same time.

The two seated figure reverse dies used on these tokens exhibit no breaks, damage or die rust that would be useful in proving which variety was struck first, and the dies paired with them – both the Hampshire and Norwich ones – are similarly devoid of such clues for an emission sequence. The Campin token could have been the original use of this reverse style since his name is prominently displayed on his tokens whereas Stride's name is confined to the edge of his tokens and would be difficult to find. We also note that Campin not only gives the city but the actual street his business is located, which would make it easier for someone to find him and redeem his tokens for coin of the realm. The first two of John Stride's tokens the edge only says that it is payable at his warehouse, with EMSWORTH on the obverse over the ship, not exactly suggesting that was where Stride's warehouse was located since that could have been read as an advertisement for the town of Emsworth which, in the 18th century, was a port city that was known for ship and boat building. That vagueness may sound suspicious and could suggest the token was either a counterfeit or one with a fictitious place of redemption, but John Stride was a known grocer in Emsworth.⁹ The token catalogued as Hampshire 12 has the Emsworth location added to the edge lettering and may be an attempt by Stride to make things more clear – or, because of the sheer number of edges known for that die pairing may be a fictitious edge¹⁰. Of course, the Stride token could have been the first type struck, and the vagueness of his piece was a lesson that the Campin tokens benefited from, with his tokens having that information plain to see. Confusing the situation a bit, as can be seen in Appendix One, is the fact that the CURRENT EVERY WHERE edge associated with the Campin pieces is used on three varieties in the Hampshire series, including with two die pairs that are otherwise normally found with the John Stride edge – and to make matters more confusing, the first John Stride edge is also found on one of the Campin token varieties. Because of those mixed-up edges we can deduce that all types were struck in batches, and a few blank planchets from one series were leftover when they began striking the other. If the Stride, Campin and general trade pieces using these seated figure reverses were struck as a group for the 1793 issues and again, a bit later, for the 1794-dated pieces then it is likely we will never know which was actually struck first.

In the late eighteenth century there were just three options available to someone ordering tokens from a manufacturer – they could use stock dies that were already made, they could design their own tokens (and pay to have dies specially made) or they could split the difference and use a stock die on one side and a custom die on the other. Given those scenarios it is likely that Mr. Campin paid for the 1793 die with the seated figure (and liked it so much he used the same design on his token order for the following year). While the customer paid to have special dies engraved, the dies remained the property of the token maker – which makes some sense, because what would a merchant do with a single die? One reason there are so many unusual mules in the Provincial Token series is because some makers would use these perfectly good dies – ones that had the names or addresses of merchants they struck tokens for – in other combinations that the

the tokens of Peter are listed on p. 632-3 while those of Thomas (and Thomas and Peter together) are on p. 636-9.

⁹ For more on that see Lusk, *op. cit.*, page 32.

¹⁰ Michael Dickinson notes that this edge is also found on Hampshire 15 and 21 which have the appearance of general trade tokens. Lusk lists the Hampshire 9 and 10 as genuine trade tokens but does not list the Hampshire 12, 15, or 21 as such.

merchant had not ordered and likely knew nothing about. Other makers recycled dies, using one that may have been ordered and paid for by one merchant with a die for another merchant. This is likely what happened here: Kempson, who had the seated figure reverse dies in house, simply used them on the Stride and other Hampshire pieces, essentially making the seated reverse dies into stock dies, even if they did not start out that way. For the Hampshire 9 and 10 varieties the use of this reverse would have saved Stride the expense of having a new die cut with his name and address – he paid for the edge lettering on the blank planchets but since nearly all of the early tokens did have some edge lettering he would have been paying that cost anyway. For the Hampshire 11 and 12 varieties without a name of a merchant, Kempson likely made those for his own account, selling them at a discount to those who did not want to strike their own tokens but still needed small change – and if they could buy that small change for a discount from the notional face value, all the better since that was money in their pocket and they would not be on the hook for any sort of redemption of those tokens since their names were not on them. While it is possible that Kempson had the seated figure dies made for himself to be used as a stock die (and that Mr. Campin simply liked the design and wanted it on his own tokens), the fact that there are two very similar dies with different dates suggests otherwise – a stock die would normally not have a date on it at all and thus could be used in any year. One would also expect to see stock dies used with more than just a couple other dies to make more generic tokens; both Kempson and his main Birmingham competitor William Lutwyche had a number of true stock dies that were used in a dozen or more different combinations.



Figure Three: *The three reverses, enlarged. At top are the 1793 and 1794 British token reverses described above and centered below is the 1787 Auctori Plebis token reverse.*

The design used on these three dies – the two British token dies and the Auctori Plebis – are clearly too similar to be coincidental. This is not some generic representation of Britannia that was used on a large number of dies (as was the traditional seated figure that mimicked the Britannia design on regal coinage). Since the use of a globe, anchor and crowned lion was so unusual it means that one design must have been based on the other. Compared with the 1793 and 1794 dies, the engraving quality of the 1787 is amateurish in comparison. The letter punches are completely different on the 1787 from the other two dies and the 1787 die was not made with the same level of skill or die cutting experience, as it broke quite early in usage. Only two

possibilities exist – the 1787-dated piece was made first and the design was noticed and improved upon by either of the Wyon brothers or Kempson, or that the 1793-4 tokens were made first and the Auctori Plebis reverse copied those and was done by a less-skilled engraver than either Wyon. Of course, the date on a token is no guarantee of the year it was struck (as we know from many backdated issues on both sides of the Atlantic – including many of our own colonial coins, starting from the earliest Massachusetts silver issues that all bore a 1652 date despite some being struck decades later). Generally copies are worse than the originals, not the other way around; this is seen in the British token series where counterfeits of some tokens are known but none of those counterfeits are better-made than the tokens they copy (the same trend is noted in the American state coinage issues, all of which have counterfeits – which are invariably made with less engraving and striking skill than the genuine coins they mimic). We also should note that while there are colonial American coins and tokens that mimic British designs, there are no British tokens that copied an American design, even for the sake of “improving” that design. Given this, we will proceed with the supposition that the 1793-4 dies came first and the 1787-dated one was produced afterwards and purposely backdated.

But there are two additional facts in terms of dating that are quite telling. The 1787 date on the Auctori Plebis tokens is actually the year that the first of the large-scale production British Provincial Tokens were struck – the Anglesey Druid pennies and halfpennies for the Parys Mining Company.¹¹ Had the 1787-dated Auctori Plebis token indeed been struck in that year, even for American circulation, it would have certainly received attention from collectors and been noted in print.¹² This is especially true for the first few years of token coinage when there were relatively few major types struck and anything different would have been noted and acquired by the collectors who started chasing these tokens as soon as they were produced.¹³

Also telling is the issue of weight. The 1787 Anglesey Druids were purposely struck at a heavier weight standard than British copper coins at the time – the very first penny token pieces were struck using a full ounce of pure copper. This was done to help their acceptance in commerce – other than a small allowance for coinage costs the metal value of the token would have been equal to its face value when it was struck, making it far more attractive to the public than a counterfeit copper would have been – or even a regal coin which was rare enough in circulation to begin with (the few that were found tended to be well-worn earlier issues). Since these were struck by the owner of a copper mine who was pulling more ore out of the ground than he knew what to do with it also meant that more metal was being used at market value – and the company made the same profit margin whether that ore was made into coins or machines or teapots. Had

¹¹ A few tokens listed in D&H do have earlier dates but they are counterfeits, purposely backdated issues or tokens that are not properly part of the Provincial Token series, including a couple dated in the 1760’s. The Halsall penny token (Lancashire 1) was struck in 1784 (though undated) and predates the Anglesey Druid tokens.

¹² Occasionally the first official printed announcement of a new coinage was found in the British press. These announcements sometimes had a woodcut illustration (including the Nova Constellatio copper and the New Jersey coppers, see footnote below; others are likely to be found as more early papers are scanned and available online). These announcements seem to have been aimed towards both collectors adding to their cabinets and to merchants who might soon encounter the pieces in their trade with the United States.

¹³ Indeed, the first printed announcement of the Anglesey coinage occurred in the British press and was found in the Supplemental plate of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1787 (the plate likely produced at the end of the year). This plate is noteworthy for also including a 1786-dated New Jersey copper – the first illustration of that coinage.

the Auctori Plebis token actually been issued in 1787 it would have been ruthlessly mocked in the press since it weighs under 120 grains on average, versus 154 grains for the Regal George III British halfpennies last issued in 1775 – and both of those were dwarfed by the half-ounce of copper in the first Anglesey halfpenny tokens, which would have averaged about 215 grains. To be fair, the 1787-dated Auctori Plebis token DID weigh more on average than the counterfeit British halfpence and evasion coppers that were in circulation in the waning years of the 18th century (some of which weighed less than 100 grains), but if they had been around in 1787 and one was given the choice of that or an Anglesey halfpenny that had almost double the metal it would not have been a difficult decision to make.

We know that the 1787 Auctori Plebis token was noted in a 1796 work, as mentioned by Crosby, but there are still questions to answer as we try to pin down a time of manufacture. The early literature is the primary source material available, and we need to examine it closely for traces of this token. Was it discussed in any earlier books? If not, can we ascertain why? How was the token handled in the literature after 1796? To answer those questions it is necessary to cross the Atlantic and first examine the British literature of the 1790s, a period that saw the production of massive numbers of tokens – and the beginning of scholarly collector interest in them – and then move on to more modern reference works.

THE BRITISH LITERATURE:

The first published listings of 18th century Provincial Tokens appeared, literally, as they were being struck. This gives us more contemporary information about these tokens, their issuers, die engravers, manufacturers and numbers produced than is available for any series other than perhaps regal coinages up to that time (the few United States issues struck at the Philadelphia Mint by this time do not have nearly as much information preserved since we still do not know who engraved some of the dies or where some coins were actually struck). Early collectors of British Provincial Tokens eagerly sought out new varieties, and many of the people who wrote descriptive lists of them were actively involved in their manufacture – or in selling them to collectors. Filling these roles allowed the earliest authors to acquire information along with their tokens, and while not every scrap was preserved, a significant amount was. One early collector and author lived in Birmingham, the city with the largest number of die engravers and token makers (far surpassing London in that regard) and was able to get firsthand information directly from the engravers and minters. Examining the published lists in roughly chronological order provides an idea of when the Auctori Plebis first made its appearance in print – and by looking closely at both the kind of tokens that were listed in those works, as well as those that were excluded, we can obtain a better idea of why the Auctori Plebis might not have been included in some works, even if it had been known to the authors. Because the British numismatic literature may not be well known to American collectors we have separated them out by date, each under its own heading. As the American literature discussed later is more well-known to readers we have chosen to discuss those works without separate headings for each author or publication.

THE VERY RARE LISTS OF “WILLIAMS” AND HAMMOND, 1795

The first printed lists relating to these tokens were written and published in 1795, and most are exceedingly rare. The very first was *A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins, Including Those of London* which gives the author as Christopher Williams, and lists 341 tokens in just 30 pages. This list, of which only three copies are known today (two of them from the personal library of Sarah Sophia Banks, one of the most astute collectors of the day whose collection forms the basis of the British Museum’s holdings of 18th century tokens) was published by John Hammond who has been called “a coin dealer of dubious credentials with a reputation for charging inflated prices.”¹⁴ No one has been able to trace a collector with the name of Christopher Williams, and it is likely that Hammond wrote the list using Williams as a *nom de plume* (even the indefatigable Miss Banks noted the Williams name was a fiction in her own handwritten library list). An assumed gentleman-collector-author gave the illusion that this list was something scholarly and not just a list of tokens that could be obtained (apparently at strong prices) from Hammond himself. Later that year Hammond issued another list (the third one chronologically), this one crediting himself as author and was called *The Virtuoso’s Guide in Collecting Provincial Copper Coins*, which describes some 428 different tokens in 44 pages; it is almost as rare as the first list. The small number of pages in these two works illustrate one drawback of the era, which is that paper, type, and printing were expensive and long, rambling stories full of the esoteric information that we would love to know today were simply impossible then, and these early works were usually very simple lists with a transcription of the legends and a few words of describing the design but little more. The only copy of the “Williams” list that is even remotely available to researchers is in the Royal Mint Museum in Wales. Because of its rarity and location it has not been reviewed for this article but, as will be shown, the information it contained was likely included in other volumes which are discussed below.

The list with John Hammond listed as the author, however, has a few more copies known, one of which is located in the British Library, and was viewed by this writer in London.¹⁵ The Hammond list does not record the 1787 Auctori Plebis token (or any of the evasion coppers with this legend) – and since this list is thought to be essentially the “Williams” list with new additions (since they were likely written by the same person), we can assume the Auctori Plebis tokens were not mentioned in the Williams list either. Subsequent authors also used these earlier works as a basis for their own and if the Williams-Hammond list had included the Auctori Plebis piece one would expect to see that listing carried forward in the works to follow. The Hammond list does include some American tokens (the popular “Kentucky” token is the second token listed under the letter A for “American,” and the Franklin Press token and three Washington pieces are listed – though the latter are not called American). Of the Auctori-Plebis style reverse tokens, Hammond lists both the 1793 and 1794-dated Norwich pieces and the Hampshire 9 and 10 varieties but not the Hampshire 11 and 12, likely because the latter pair did not have a name or place of issue.

¹⁴ David W. Dykes, *Coinage and Currency in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Spink, 2011, page 330.

¹⁵ Both of these early works are mentioned by Arthur Waters in his 1906 work *Notes Gleaned from Contemporary Literature, &c: Respecting the Issuers of the Eighteenth Century Tokens : Struck for the County of Middlesex : Arranged According to Atkins's Tradesmen's Tokens* and are discussed in great detail in Dykes, op. cit.

THOMAS SPENCE'S 1795 LIST – WRITTEN IN JAIL?

The second list chronologically was authored by Thomas Spence and called *The Coin Collector's Companion. Being a Descriptive Alphabetical List of the Modern, Provincial, Political and Other Copper Coins*.¹⁶ Spence's work was printed in the months between the two Hammond lists mentioned above, and his larger and more organized work was almost certainly the impetus for Hammond to update his first list and issue a new version, under his own name. Spence listed 361 tokens, 20 more than the "Williams" list, but Hammond was able to describe 67 more than Spence, which would have given Hammond bragging rights that his was the more useful list (and more tokens listed meant more to sell to his customers as well). Despite that claim there are a few more of Spence's lists known today, and Spence has a much more important place in the history of these tokens than Hammond, and is worthy of a slight digression.

Thomas Spence, one of the most colorful characters of the era, was a perpetual gadfly to the aristocracy, politicians, landlords and the entire social, economic, political and educational systems of 18th century England. Spence's political philosophy was aligned closely with that of Thomas Paine – indeed, Spence is known to have used the phrase "Rights of Man" a good decade before Paine's influential book of the same name was printed (Spence also wrote an influential book titled *Rights of Infants* concerning child abuse and poverty that advocated a basic income paid to every citizen – an idea that is gaining political traction more than two centuries later as the labor force becomes increasingly automated). Spence curiously made a living selling coins and books, first operating from a small stall and later moving into an actual shop so, for a while at least, business must have been good.

Aside from his inflammatory prose, Spence is best known today for his token issues, which number over 300 varieties, not including edge variations (including the different edges pushes the number to nearly 550 varieties).¹⁷ Spence's work on tokens was published in 1795, which is

¹⁶ Dykes, *op. cit.* describes variations of Spence's lists in his work; the version used here is the first issue; later variations with supplemental listings do not change the argument of this paragraph even though a few more tokens were added.

¹⁷ Many thanks to Gary Groll for running the numbers which today stand at 343 different token varieties where one or both dies are a Spence die, and 549 varieties if you include all the known edges. Spence went bankrupt in 1797 and sold his dies to Peter Skidmore, who issued many of the varieties included in this count and who muled those dies with others that had no relevance to Spence in order to sell these manufactured rarities to wealthy collectors of the day. Spence had large numbers of tokens struck for him (a contemporary noted "many thousands of different tokens, lying in heaps" when he visited his shop) and this expenditure may have led to his bankruptcy. Spence clearly intended a large-scale circulation of tokens illustrating his political messages, but few are known in circulated grades and were instead snapped up by collectors – most of whom surely had views diametrically opposed to Spence. Worse for Spence, when his dies were sold to Skidmore, the radical political messages were diluted by nonsensical mulings, some of which are almost reversed in implication. The Skidmore pieces probably had smaller mintages but were sold to collectors at a premium. The Spence issues are mainly listed in D&H in the Middlesex section where they take up numbers 676-901, but other Spence pieces are scattered throughout other counties and even countries. Trying to determine which issues were struck while Spence owned the dies (they were almost certainly struck by someone other than Spence who had a coining press – most likely Skidmore himself) and which were struck later for sale to collectors has long been debated in British numismatics. The best overall look at the series is R.H. Thompson, "The Dies of Thomas Spence

interesting because in 1794 he was sitting in Newgate Gaol on charges of high treason (a charge he beat, though in 1801 he was sentenced to a year in jail on grounds of seditious libel); perhaps he spent some of his prison time compiling the 1795 list, which surely has to be one of the most interesting gestation periods for a piece of numismatic literature! Spence's list, as mentioned in his title, is alphabetical – but the tokens are sometimes listed alphabetically by place of issue (something that is often not spelled out on the token itself), and sometimes by design motif. This did not matter much at the time since Spence's list was just 52 pages, which meant collectors did not need to look too far to find where a token was listed.

There is no mention of the Auctori Plebis token in Spence's 1795 work, though the author does list several tokens now collected as part of the American colonial series, pretty much mimicking the Hammond list mentioned above – the Kentucky token is found on the first page as his No. 2, there just called "American," the 1794 Franklin Press token is listed as his No. 131, three Washington pieces are listed near the end (under W for Washington are listed the Grate Halfpenny, the Ship Halfpenny and one of the 1791 cent pieces, though the list is unclear whether it is the small or large eagle variety); on the final page of text, an addendum to the list is one that Hammond did not include, the 1795 Talbot, Alum & Lee cent (though no mention is made of the 1794-dated type), a piece that specifically names its American audience. Spence also included a few coins struck in England for use elsewhere, such as the 1788 Barbados penny and halfpenny coins. From this we see that Spence considered that a piece made for circulation in America or elsewhere was worth listing – as long as it was actually *struck* in Great Britain. This strongly suggests that Spence did not know of the Auctori Plebis token when his book was printed in 1795 – had he known of it he would have included it as a dealer since more varieties listed meant more potential sales to collectors. It should be noted that Spence lived and worked in London during this period and while he must have had books, coins, and tokens supplied to him for resale, he was not in the same constant contact with the Birmingham makers as other writers and would not know of every issue that was being produced – as can be seen by the fact that Hammond was able to list nearly 20% more tokens on his list printed just a few months later.

In terms of pieces of similar reverse design, Spence lists the 1794 Norwich issue of R. Campin (D&H Norfolk 21) as his No. 250 and, in the addenda, the 1793 issue (D&H Norfolk 20) as his No. 361. The two varieties of Emsworth halfpennies (D&H Hampshire 9 and 10) are listed under E for Emsworth. The Cornucopia varieties (D&H Hampshire 11 and 12) lack any geographical location, name of issuer or even a famous personage as the design and this may have prevented Spence from listing them even if he did know of them, but once again the reverse with the cornucopia is listed elsewhere when paired with a different die.

(1750-1814)" in *The British Numismatic Journal*, Volume 38 (1969), pages 126-62. A supplemental article of additions and corrections is found in the same publication, Volume 40 (1971), pages 136-8.

CHARLES PYE, THE FIRST ILLUSTRATED LIST, 1795

1795 was something of a banner year for token publications (which indicates the level of collector interest in the series), as that year also saw the first edition of Charles Pye's *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens Issued Between the Years 1787 and 1796*.¹⁸ Pye's work was different than the three previous lists, which were simply printed texts describing (barely) different tokens, for Pye chose to illustrate them. Photography, of course, was decades in the future, but engravings had long been used in magazines and books and Pye himself was a talented engraver who personally produced the copper plates used to print the images he sold. The tokens were from Pye's own collection, and were engraved in no particular order after the first couple of plates, though an index helps a bit in locating tokens. Pye's work has 36 plates, most showing 5 different tokens, obverse and reverse, and with any edge lettering given around the circumference of the obverse side (one plate shows 4 larger penny pieces and another shows a dozen farthing tokens, so the total number illustrated was 186); the tokens are engraved with enough skill that the vast majority can be attributed, even those from series that had a large number of die varieties. The Pye work was started in August 1794, and issued as a series; three sets of plates at a time, as he finished engraving them; they were sold by subscription and collectors eagerly awaited each installment (even Matthew Boulton was a subscriber). This start date predates the Hammond and Spence issues of course, but it was a year later, in September 1795, that Pye finished this unprofitable venture and produced a title page and index. The subscribers then bound those with their collected plates into a single volume; it is probable that he (or booksellers he worked through) also had sets of plates on hand that were bound up as soon as the series was finished.

Pye does not illustrate an Auctori Plebis token, or any other piece that could be directly linked to America, such as the Kentucky or Talbot, Alum & Lee tokens – though he did list two colonial-relevant issues, the Franklin Press token and the Washington Grate halfpenny, both of which had more significant ties to England than America when they were struck (both, of course, were struck specifically for businesses based in England, making them legitimate trade tokens in Pye's view). Pye also illustrates, on a single plate, the Barbados pieces mentioned in Spence, as well as a 1793 Bermuda penny and two Sierra Leone issues; their British manufacture was apparently sufficient to list them since they were actual circulating coins and not tokens (though one wonders why things like the 1791 Washington large and small eagle cents were not included if that was his sole criterion). The lack of illustration for the 1787 Auctori Plebis in the Pye work is not unexpected, for the author himself states in the introduction that some of the token coinage were so “infamously base, that, in my opinion, they are a disgrace to the age we live in, and such as I don't think proper to admit into my collection.”

Pye did illustrate three of the tokens that had the similar design to the reverse of the Auctori Plebis token, both of the Hampshire types with the 1793 date (D&H Hampshire 9 and 11 on his Plate 12, No. 2 and plate 23, No. 4 respectively) and the Norwich variety with the same date (D&H Norfolk 20, Pye's plate 20, No. 3). As Pye's list was finished after Spence's he should have known about the 1794-dated tokens, but because of the inferior workmanship of that die he either considered it to be a counterfeit and chose not to depict it, or because the designs were so similar (the major difference being the date) he chose not to illustrate such a minor variation.

¹⁸ Sharp-eyed readers may cry “typographical error” here noting that we said the book was printed in 1795 and the title states tokens up to 1796 are described! But read on!

Pye's work contained plates for about half of the number of tokens listed by Spence, for instance, and he may have wanted to illustrate a diverse selection in the pages he had available. Some of the larger series, such as the Anglesey Druid tokens and the John Wilkinson pieces do have multiple examples depicted with just minor variations of date, but those were some of the first series of tokens struck and were quite popular with collectors. Pye lists Wyon (but not which Wyon) as the engraver for two out of the three of the Auctori Plebis reverse style tokens (the Norwich 20 does not have an engraver listed, though since it is the same die as the Hampshire pieces he probably thought it repetitive to list that information). At this time engravers usually worked on commission and a single engraver could have worked for several different manufacturers at the same time. The best of them – such as the Wyons and John Gregory Hancock – would have been used when a client paid a bit extra for an artistic design.¹⁹

Pye had an advantage over the other early authors. He actually lived in Birmingham and continued to collect Provincial Tokens after his book was printed. Having suffered a reversal of fortunes, Pye embarked on a couple ventures that did not work quite as well as he had hoped. Around this time he compiled some of the first city directories of Birmingham, selling listings to businesses and directories to residents. Some of the directories include information on token manufacturers, and are a useful resource for tracking who was working in Birmingham and when (and probably how well they were doing as there are some years where certain minters are not listed, probably indicating they were either temporarily out of business or just not making enough money to justify the purchase of an advertisement). As the publisher of the Birmingham city directory, Pye had access to all of the coiners and engravers in and around Birmingham – but it was probably his interest as a collector that caused him to gather invaluable information from the city's coiners, much of which would not be extant today without his efforts.

Although chronologically out of order, in 1801 Pye put out a second, greatly expanded edition of his work, now titled *A Correct and Complete Representation of All the Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens of Trade, and Cards of Address, on Copper, Which Were Circulated as Such Between the Years 1787 and 1801*. The work tripled in size his previous effort, with 52 larger plates that averaged about 10 tokens per plate (also with edge lettering around the obverse border of each token). Although the engraving quality is not as detailed as his earlier work, and instead of engravings, one would call them sketches, Pye arranged these plates better than the previous edition, and they mostly follow an alphabetical order (by locale, not by issuer or by legend); ingeniously at the end of each letter's listing he included a few empty circles so that later discoveries could be drawn in by the owner of the book. The index is greatly expanded, now placed at the front of the work, giving a wealth of detail for each token illustrated – including (where known) the die sinker, manufacturer, client the token was engraved for, the quantity struck, and any comments Pye wished to make concerning that token. While far from "complete" (indeed he listed about 10% of the varieties that were described a century later), this was the largest illustrated listing available to contemporary collectors.

There was no mention of the Auctori Plebis in the 1801 edition of Pye's work, nor of any other token made specifically for America, though he did again illustrate the Washington Grate

¹⁹ Curiously Pye credits Boulton for several dies – but when one reads closer his listing is "dies executed by or under the direction of" which is perfectly applicable to Boulton's Soho Mint since he appears to have personally been involved in the selection process for designs and inspected the finished product. As Boulton hoped that his token issues would prove a stepping stone towards a contract coinage with the British government, his attention to detail was understandable, even though it took a decade for that contract to finally be granted.

halfpenny and the Franklin Press token and added in the 1793 Washington Ship Halfpenny – this latter one curious as it gives no geographic location or issuer’s name, and would thus seem to be more American than British in nature (though he notes in the index that these were “made from puncheons of Hancock’s” and perhaps that was sufficient since Hancock’s work was well-regarded and eagerly collected in England). One reason for Pye’s lack of interest in the Auctori Plebis token is again found in the foreword where he states that he wanted to “discriminate true from counterfeit tokens” and that he hoped to have “rejected every false, and inserted every genuine token that has been manufactured.” While he certainly knew of the Auctori Plebis token by 1801 it would not have made it into his book – and, given Pye’s views, likely not into his personal collection either.

The expanded 1801 text also illustrates three of the tokens that share the Auctori Plebis reverse design, though now with more information. The Hampshire 9 piece is depicted on plate 19, No. 1, and the improved index now tells us that the dies were engraved by Wyon, manufactured by Kempson for the order of J(ohn) Stride. Pye notes that there is a 1794 version, but does not illustrate it. On Plate 51, No. 12, he illustrates the Hampshire 11 and notes “these were sold in small quantities to any person who would purchase them,” but does not mention the 1794 dated version, Hampshire 12. The two Norfolk pieces are illustrated together, on Plate 39, No. 9 and 10, but both the reverses are depicted as sharing the 1794-dated die and there is no mention of the 1793-dated die, an error since only one of the reverses comes with the 1794 obverse. In his second edition Pye does not list an engraver at all, but does give Kempson as the manufacturer – but then adds the note “a small quantity only struck by Kempson; but some other person also made them” which is quite curious since one would assume that if Kempson went to the expense of producing the dies and striking some pieces he would not have given the business over to someone else. We have seen that Pye was not infallible – the error just mentioned on the two Norfolk varieties shows that – but he did talk directly to these manufacturers and engravers, and it might be productive to follow up on this thread.²⁰ It is, of course, possible that the comment concerning “some other person also made them” may refer to the sale of dies, hubs or punches – an important point we will address later in this paper.

SAMUEL BIRCHALL, A START TOWARDS ATTRIBUTIONS, 1796

1796 saw the publication of Samuel Birchall’s *A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens Issued between the Years 1786 and 1796*, which was based on specimens in his own collection. Birchall was a wealthy Quaker involved in the wool industry in Leeds and an inveterate collector of many things, as expected of gentlemen of the time. Birchall also issued his own token, manufactured by Peter Kempson, an attractive halfpenny listed as D&H Yorkshire 28 which holds the record – by far – for the number of different edge varieties. There are an amazing 113 different edges listed for Birchall’s token, and a couple others have since

²⁰ Both the Norfolk 20 and 21 versions are relatively common, while the edge variations listed for those numbers in D&H range from very scarce to extremely rare. There are also extremely rare pieces known of these and the Hampshire varieties in white metal, as well as in full gilt. If Kempson struck only “a small quantity” it could be that he made the off-metal pieces and/or the rare edge varieties for sale to collectors and subcontracted the coining of the main varieties to someone else in Birmingham – perhaps his small number of presses were already being used to fill a larger order. Unfortunately, it seems that the only records that exist for any of the token manufacturers of the era come from Boulton at the Soho Manufactory.

been found. Most of these edge varieties are unique or extremely rare; indeed only a handful are considered even remotely collectible and only a couple edge varieties have as many as 7 or 8 different examples known.²¹ These edge varieties were, of course, produced solely to create exotic delicacies. As Birchall was himself a collector it is likely that these rare tokens were minted specifically to give him a set that no other collector could match, and a handful of duplicates of some edges to trade with other collectors to obtain items his own cabinet lacked.²² Birchall's list did not include engravings of tokens like Pye's work, but did have slightly more expanded descriptions of the tokens and he broke them up alphabetically, unlike Pye's first edition. He started each letter's listing with the number 1, so someone listing by Birchall numbers would have varieties listed as A1, A2, and A3 and so on for each letter. He also occasionally made it hard to locate things: for instance, the Lancaster halfpennies that feature a bust of John of Gaunt on the obverse and have the inscription JOHN GAUNT DUKE OF LANCASTER are listed under L, for Lancaster – except for mules that use this exact obverse type which are listed under G for Gaunt. Still, when the number of tokens listed was still in the hundreds the number of possible places one had to hunt for a token were minimal. Birchall did not list an Auctori Plebis of any variety, the 1787-dated issue or the so-called "mules." This is striking because he listed MANY mules and counterfeits – and was criticized by Pye for including things that were made "to impose upon the publick." Indeed, though Birchall's list came out just a year after Spence's, it actually lists more Spence tokens than Spence's own list does, including a large number of mules made for collectors (which may have been produced after Spence published his list). Birchall listed the Barbados, Bermuda and Sierra Leone coins, and also included some American issues such as the 1795 Washington Liberty & Security penny, the 1793 Washington Ship halfpenny, the 1791 Washington Small Eagle cent and two edge varieties of the Kentucky token. While Birchall did not list the 1794-5 Talbot, Alum & Lee cents, he did list two edge variations of the TA&L/Stork Halfpenny mule and the 1794 TA&L mule with the Birmingham Boy with Tools obverse (though oddly missing the far more common John Howard and Earl Howe mules, suggesting that these may have been struck after his book came out in 1796 – and since both of those exist in late die states for the muled die their later production is indeed likely). So again we have a work that had no problem listing tokens specifically made for America or tokens that were counterfeit or those that were specifically made for sale to collectors, but fails to mention the Auctori Plebis tokens.

²¹ Dalton & Hamer list only 11 varieties in their main text, but in the Appendix, pages 554-5 give a "Complete List of Edges of Birchall Tokens," listing 113 different ones – but not including three of the edges that they listed in their own text!

²² It is also possible that the edge variations were produced by Kempson himself, but the sheer number of these edges argues against that since most of the Kempson issues come with just one, two or three edge varieties. Unfortunately, while these edges are listed in the D&H reference in an appendix, the vast majority of them have not been seen by modern collectors (though it is rumored the original set remains intact in a single collection). Without seeing the tokens it is impossible to tell if the exact edge legends used on other tokens were used here – or whether someone just copied the legends of other tokens, using completely different lettering. Either option opens up interesting avenues for further research.

JAMES CONDER'S LIST, THE LARGEST THUS FAR, 1798

We now skip ahead, slightly out of chronological order, to James Conder's 1798 work on 18th century tokens, *An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medalets, Issued in Great Britain, Ireland and the Colonies Within the Last Twenty Years*. Conder was a successful Ipswich draper who collected tokens and struck several of his own, some with such small mintages that it is certain that he was creating rarities for trade with other collectors.²³ Conder's book shows how much changed in just a few years; where lists of just 2-3 years before described 300-600 tokens, his work lists over 2,000 different varieties – though descriptions are usually terse and some descriptions are not horribly useful such as “same device as last, differently executed.” Conder's work is not illustrated – save for three plates of engravings illustrating 11 tokens, all of which he cut from other publications. Conder seemed to favor the edge lettering over anything else on the token which he used to decide the county in which to place pieces. This makes some sense because the edge legend often told where a token could be redeemed – but as there were many counterfeit tokens that also came with counterfeit edges (not to mention real tokens struck on planchets with incorrect edges). This yields such oddities as putting some John Wilkinson tokens in with the Anglesey (Wales) listings because their edge reads PAYABLE IN ANGLESEY LONDON OR LIVERPOOL instead of the authorized edge which reads WILLEY SNEDSHILL BERSHAM BRADLEY. The Anglesey edge mentioned first might ring a bell with American colonial collectors as it is found on a few pieces we collect and sure enough, Conder included the 1793 Washington Ship halfpenny in with the Anglesey issues. While George Washington's ancestral family did live in England, in the Northampton area, it is doubtful any of them had ties to an island off the far northern coast of Wales, which is where Anglesey is located. Such flaws make Conder's list fairly useless other than as part of the history of publications on the series – but its sheer breadth compared to the earlier works meant that it was the standard reference for nearly a century. Most late 18th and 19th century collectors had a copy of Conder, a copy of Pye (probably the larger second edition) and the work that we mention next (for even more illustrations) and that was enough to collect from. Indeed, after the 1801 edition of Pye, no one attempted to write another book on the series for the better part of a century; thus these works were sufficient for not only collectors of the time, but for the next three or four generations as well.

²³ Conder's own tokens can properly be called "Conder tokens," but the fact that the whole series gets named after him (despite the fact that his book was neither the earliest or the best) is somewhat inexplicable to British collectors, but tradition dies hard, and the American-based club for collectors of these tokens is The Conder Token Collector's Club, and their journal carries the same name. A portion of Conder's own collection has managed to remain with the family and was exhibited in 1991 at the Ipswich Numismatic Society, with a commemorative booklet issued to mark the occasion. The survival of the collection is not too surprising, since Conder's firm survived quite a long time as well, morphing over the years into T.E. & J. Conder, Ltd., handling sheepskin and leather and was especially known for its quality jackets. The firm remained a family business from its founding in 1765 until it ceased in 1992. Since this paper discusses Conder himself, calling all of the tokens “Conder tokens” may be confusing; most UK collectors know them as “18th Century Provincial Tokens” – a bit clunky to constantly repeat, so we will simply call them Provincial Tokens, with the understanding that this in this paper it will always mean issues of the 18th century. In reality the only “Conder tokens” are those that were issued BY Conder, but old habits die hard.

Conder's work also made collecting a bit easier, for he not only separated the tokens into counties, but included the penny, halfpenny, and farthing denomination (in that order, the few areas with silver issues listed before the copper) within each county that issued them – earlier lists had separated tokens by denomination, which meant a lot of page turning if you had both an Anglesey penny and a halfpenny you wanted to attribute, but saved you from reading all the listings to see if a penny listing was mixed in with the halfpence. He avoided the trap that the earliest writers fell into with numbering their list sequentially (meaning that any new discoveries would need to be placed at the end, out of any sort of geographic or chronological order) and instead started each county at number 1, which allowed new discoveries to be placed in the right county, even if they might then be out of denomination or alphabetical order within that county. Birchall did something similar in his listing but his unusual organization made his work more of a headache for collectors to use. Conder also neatly sidestepped the problem of where to fit issues that had no place name or could not be reasonably tied to a specific county – something that prevented earlier writers from listing them at all. He created two catchall categories, "Varieties" and "Not Local." The former would handle mules of known dies, such as the Spence, Skidmore, and Denton issues, while the latter section would include pieces that he could not firmly place in a specific county – which ended up being the largest section in the book with some 432 specimens (of all denominations combined). Nearly all of these were fit into counties by later authors, though sometimes for the most tenuous of reasons.

Conder does not mention the 1787 Auctori Plebis tokens, which is surprising since, as we shall see, they were known by the time his book was written. Even more curious, Conder included plenty of counterfeit tokens and pieces that had been struck mere months before his book was printed, including some made specifically for sale to collectors. He also listed a surprising number of evasion coppers²⁴ (mostly in the Not Local section, as would be expected) but made no mention of any evasion with the Auctori Plebis legend. It is likely that Conder knew of the 1787-dated Auctori Plebis token – just that he chose not to include it in his work. His reason for not listing it is probably found in his introduction where he states "I have in my possession fifty-five different American pieces; some minted there and others in Great Britain; several of which, circulated in this country, were improperly included in the lists which have been published, as the 'Medalet of Washington,' 'United States,' 'New York Tokens,' but which are wholly omitted in this Arrangement. They may be collected as American pieces, but can never be regarded as British." Although Conder's tone was stern it is interesting to note that the Washington North Wales token was included in his book – apparently the Welsh reverse legend trumped the

²⁴ The evasion copper series will be the subject of a future article that will define them more thoroughly, as they are one of the most misunderstood coinage series in the last few hundred years. For the purposes of this article it is sufficient to state that an evasion copper is a halfpenny or farthing sized 18th century copper issue that imitates the regal coinage, usually of George II or George III, and is found in both English and Irish styles. With a quick glance these could be mistaken for real coins as they all have a bust on the obverse and usually have the standard reverse types of a seated female (for England) or a harp (for Ireland). The legends will be different from a regal coin – sometimes close to the regal issues (like GEORGE III REX instead of GEORGIUS III REX) or HEBERNIA instead of HIBERNIA, but sometimes nothing like the regal legend at all (such as OLIVER CROMWELL or BONNY GIRL). These are different from counterfeit coins, which would have correct legends and devices – and their makers would be subject to criminal prosecution if they were caught. Evasions took advantage of a loophole in the anti-counterfeiting laws that required a counterfeit to be an "exact similitude" for it to be subject to those laws. By changing the legends their makers evaded prosecution and thus these are "evasion coppers."

obverse which depicted the man who wrested the colonies away from British control! Conder cites “Mr. Birchall’s List” as the source of these un-British pieces, but we have seen, Birchall’s list, published two years prior to Conder’s, had only some of the George Washington issues and the Kentucky token, and one can only wonder what other coins and tokens made up the 55 different American pieces that were included in Conder’s personal collection. This number is far too large at this early date to consist entirely of Washington pieces, so the group probably included actual coinage as well, including perhaps Connecticut coppers, whose similarity to the Auctori Plebis pieces would have likely been enough for Conder to consider the latter to be American in nature, despite the similarity of the reverse to known British tokens. Interestingly enough, Conder DID include the 1783 Georgius Triumpho token in his list – perhaps blind to the fact that it probably referred to George Washington since the British King was not exactly triumphant in that year (unless he considered getting rid of the former colonies a triumph; perhaps those too could “never be regarded as British”).

THE VIRTUOSO’S COMPANION, THE MOST ILLUSTRATIONS – AND THE START OF THE AUCTORI PLEBIS MYSTERY, 1795-1797

With the contemporary literature nearly exhausted, it appears that the first published mention of a 1787-dated Auctori Plebis token is the very one that Crosby cited, *The Virtuoso’s Companion*. Even though the name echoes that of the Hammond list issued a year earlier, this work is more akin to the Pye work in that it is a series of engraved plates sold by subscription, each plate showing the obverse and reverse of four different tokens (along with lettered edges if applicable), with no descriptive text other than an index that is marginally useful. The series was first issued in 1795, published by Matthew Denton for Thomas Prattent, who was a copperplate engraver and did illustrations for various magazines and books of the day. Prattent did the engraving of the plates and Denton, who was a coin dealer, was responsible for distributing the publication. Both Denton and Prattent had a vested interest in popularizing this series with collectors, and both issued several varieties of tokens themselves. As dealers they would naturally stock these tokens if collector demand was there; and creating this demand was the real thrust of the book. David Dykes quotes a contemporary source that Denton knew the makers of these tokens and “indeed it is probable that the work was supported by them in order to induce hasty collectors to buy the trash they circulated.”²⁵ This is perhaps unduly harsh. While the partners illustrated some of the pieces that they had a hand in creating – and why wouldn’t they? – they also illustrate tokens from a wide number of minters that would be considered competitors, including Skidmore, Lutwyche, Kempson, and others. It appears that being somewhat self-serving was not the crime (for Hammond and Spence did the same on their lists and Birchall, Pye and Conder at least listed their own tokens even if they weren’t offering to sell them). The cardinal sin seems to have been mules, pieces made specifically for collectors, and things like evasion coppers that gentlemen collectors did not quite yet consider “proper” – yet those very same collectors would soon change their tune and avidly compete for the same things they once disdained. This change of heart was so pronounced that a few tokens were made to satirically comment on it – including a famous one made by Westwood but sold by Denton himself that on one side has a figure of a collector busy examining his collection and not noticing

²⁵ Dykes, *op cit*, page 339 quoting William Robert Hay’s handwritten notation in his own copy of *The Virtuoso’s Companion*.

someone is about to put a fool's cap on his head while the other side has two mules being ridden with the legend *ASSES RUNNING FOR HALFPENCE*²⁶. While insulting the intelligence of your customers seems to be a shaky business model, all the collectors of the day chased that halfpence token, and it commands a premium to this day!

The Virtuoso's Companion was originally going to be four volumes, each consisting of thirty engraved plates depicting a total of 480 different tokens. The engraved plates were sent to subscribers in batches of three plates showing twelve full tokens, and delivered every 10-14 days. Each subscriber could have the plates bound into book form, which accounts for the confusing number of books that make a "complete set" – some collectors bound each volume separately, some bound two volumes together into larger books, and at least one collector pinched his halfpennies and bound three volumes together into even thicker books. The original four volumes were completed as promised, but there were still a large number of tokens left unillustrated, and more issued seemingly every week, so it was decided to continue the publication. The original four volumes promised doubled in number, with the same method of distribution as before. It took a period of three years to get all the engravings printed, and the last two volumes were published by Prattent alone after Denton moved from the area. In the end, the eight-volume set included 240 plates, illustrating 960 tokens, done with very realistic engravings, though not as well made as the earliest ones of Charles Pye (and the engravings in the last two volumes done with less attention to detail). With this method of distribution it was easy for someone to miss a plate or two, so it is not surprising that there are few full sets still in existence (and that number was further reduced by the tendency of some early collectors such as Conder, to cut out the engravings to illustrate their own works).



FIGURE FIVE: The four major types of tokens using the Auctori Plebis reverse style dies, as illustrated in *The Virtuoso's Companion*, all in Volume 2, the same one as the 1787 dated token in the previous illustration. At left are the two Norwich types, Page 39. Top right is the Emsworth halfpenny, Plate 52. Bottom right is the Peace and Plenty style, Plate 53. A comparison with these varieties in Figure Two will show that they are quite accurate in their overall style (though not exact reproductions). The illustration of each die considered the

²⁶ Dykes, *op cit*, page 263.

obverse looks larger, and the circular outer section on that side is an engraving of the edge lettering.

The *Virtuoso's Companion* contains the four major types of tokens that have the Auctori Plebis style reverse (see Figure Five), and also includes a handful of pieces collected with the American colonial series. Volume 1 contains an engraving of the Franklin Press token, which was a genuine British trade token, with added American interest because of the name. Volume 4 contains engravings of four George Washington pieces – the ship halfpenny, Liverpool halfpenny, Small Eagle cent and the Liberty & Security halfpenny, while Volume 5 contains the Washington Liberty & Security penny. Volume 6 contains the Kentucky token and the final number, Volume 8 has an illustration of the Washington North Wales halfpenny.²⁷



FIGURE SIX: The illustration of the 1787-dated Auctori Plebis token found in *The Virtuoso's Companion* of 1796, top image on Page 54 (which was published January 14, 1796). A comparison with the actual token found in Figure One shows the reverse to be a credible (though not exact) reproduction, while the obverse as portrayed in the illustration actually looks much better than the token itself!

*****This article will be continued in the next issue*****

²⁷ This, of course, is an evasion copper, the reverse die used elsewhere in the evasion series. While it likely never circulated in North America it has always been collected as part of the Washingtonia series and has had a place with the general colonial issues.

James Conder: His life via the Newspapers

by Jon Lusk

Last issue I started this series with reports of his death. In this issue I will roll back the hands of time and cover all of my newspaper finds regarding James Conder, the author/collector who gave his name to our society.

The earliest entry is dated 26 May 1788 and indicates that he and his brother, Joseph, have acquired the entire holdings of a shop in Southampton and are attempting to liquidate it. This seems unusually far from Ipswich (168 miles) for this time period, but opportunities don't always occur at the time and place of one's choosing.

S O U T H A M P T O N .
JOSEPH and JAMES CONDER, from London, respectfully inform their friends and the public in general, that they have taken the house of the late Mr. VAUGHAN, and the STOCK in TRADE; consisting of Woollen and Linen Drapery, Hosiery, Mercery, Haberdashery, &c. &c. which they are determined to sell off remarkably cheap.
Joseph and James Conder beg leave to solicit the entry and the customers of the said shop for a continuance of their favours, as it will be their ambition to merit the same; assuring them, they mean to carry on the trade in future, on the most honorable and reasonable terms.

The next entry comes in the form of an announcement of his shop in Ipswich, 10 Oct 1789. Hopefully he and his brother successfully completed the liquidation in Southampton. It is a standard appearing ad for the time – starting out with “Begs Leave to inform....” and ends with his pledge to give the best of service. It does mention that he is assuming the shop of a Mr. Dobson. Perhaps this brought him back to Ipswich?

LINEN and WOOLLEN DRAPERY.
JAMES CONDER,
BEGS Leave to inform his Friends and the Public in general, That he has taken the Shop late Mr. DOBSON's, where he has laid in a fresh assortment of Linen and Woollen Drapery Goods, Mercery, Hosiery, &c. which he is determined to sell on the most reasonable terms. Likewise, that he has taken the Stock in Trade of Mr. Dobson, which he is selling considerably under prime cost.
It will be his utmost endeavour to give satisfaction in every particular to such friends as honour him with their favours. Wool bought, and Funerals furnished.
Ipswich, October, 1789.

This is the announcement of his marriage to Mary Notcutt, 2 Jan 1790. As you can see, it was soon after what appears to be the opening of his shop in Ipswich.

I P S W I C H , Jan. 2 .
Yesterday was married Mr. James Conder, draper in this town, to Miss Mary Notcutt, daughter of Mr. George Notcutt.

A general promotional piece regarding his London trip and his acquisitions there published on 17 April 1790.

CONDER'S NEW SHOP,
Corner of the FRUIT MARKET, Ipswich.
JAMES CONDER, returns his most grateful Acknowledgements for the very liberal encouragement he has received, and respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he is just returned from London, with a very large assortment of Linen and Woollen Drapery, Mercery and Hosiery Goods; consisting of a great variety of fashionable chintz and other prints, muslins, dimities, and Irish, extremely cheap; an elegant assortment of fancy clothes and waistcoats, &c. which are of the best quality, and on very low terms.

On 5 May 1792, there was a larger ad, but with the same message regarding his trip to London and the many delightful items he acquired there. He doesn't seem to have advertised often, this being two years later than the previous ad.

JAMES CONDER,
Impressed with a grateful remembrance of the many favours conferred on him by the Ladies of Ipswich, and its environs, as well as a generous public, takes this method of returning his unfeigned thanks for the preference shewn him, and hopes to merit a continuance of their support, by presenting such articles as will, he doubts not, meet with their approbation, and entitle him to a continuance of their favours.
He is just returned from London with an entire new and fashionable assortment of every article in the LINEN and WOOLLEN DRAPERY, particularly fine chintz, callico, and muslin gowns, of the newest patterns, with which he will be regularly supplied as they are delivered; some exceeding cheap Irish Linens, and Scotch holland, of the best fabrics; likewise a large quantity of India and other muslins, that he can venture to say cannot be surpassed, if equalled, by any one, as to quality or cheapness; with every article in the above-mentioned line, as well as hosiery, mercery, &c.
Tavern-street, near the Great White Horse.

I will continue this report in the next issue of our Journal, space permitting.

Unknown Mr. Sims

by Andrey Filimonov

The token is dedicated to the memory of a great actor David Garrick, whose bust depicted on the obverse was issued by Mr. Sims, the owner of a pub in Russell-Court in London. We know a lot about David Garrick, but what do we know about Mr. Sims?

In this article I will try to tell you about everything that I could find out.



D&H Middlesex 478

George Sims (1748-1823) kept 'The Crown and Thistle' pub in Russell-Court, which was located opposite the pit-door of the Drury Lane Theater. Mr. Sims was also a theatrical agent and arranged in his own pub a kind of Theatrical House of Call *, frequented by actors, owners of small troupes and people of theatrical turn in general. The services of theatrical agents were used by novice or unemployed actors to search for roles. On the payment of an introductory fee of seven shillings, this wily boniface used to amuse the purblind aspirants by the performance of a trick, i.e. carefully pocket the silver, and with all the business-like ceremony possible, would enter the applicant's name in a book, together with the line of the drama.



The Sims' business flourished for many years, and to pursue his own theatrical career, George handed the pub to his son William (1787-1841), in whose honor the plaque in the living room of the above-mentioned pub hung. Without a doubt, 'The Crown and Thistle' pub changed its name to 'The Harp' at the same time as the manager changed. 'Notes and Queries' for May 1872, asserted that, 'The Harp in Little Russel Street, was long notorious as the resort of poor and

disengaged actors.’ William, who continued his father's work until his death, was jokingly called ‘Sir William’ alluding to the position of Lord Mayor. William Sims died on February 9, 1841 (at the age of) aged 54.

After handing his business to his son, George got engaged with his own theatrical career, mainly in the province. Sims' only performance on London stage was held on October 15, 1792, when he gave his own benefit performance as part of a replacement troupe, playing the role of William from ‘The Maiden’ from the Province in the Haymarket Theater.

The Bristol newspaper dated August 12, 1800 mentions the marriage of George Sims of Lillipur Alley, Bath, to Mrs Clifford, ‘widow of the late Mr. Clifford, of our theatre, and daughter of Mr. Robins, the drawing-master.’ As an actress, she had performed on stage in London and provincial theaters since she was 17, first as Miss Robins and then as Mrs. Clifford. From 1805 to 1809, Mr. and Mrs. Sims performed together in a theater company in Bath and Bristol, where George played minor comic characters.

In addition to his son, Sims had a daughter, Sarah, who was also an actress, a singer and a dancer and became more famous than her father. It is not known when Sarah was born, but at the age of four she discovered the taste and talent for music that her father decided to support. Sarah began to appear in public at the Sadlers-Wells Theater in London: in the ‘Wizards’ melodrama, in which she played the role of Harriet on September 26, 1796, and in the musical play ‘Sadak and Kalasrad’, in which she played Kodan in 1797. When she first appeared at Covent Garden on October 20, 1797, ‘Monthly Mirror’ reported,

‘The Maid of the Mill’ was cut down to a farce, to introduce the young lady in the character of Fanny, with new songs adapted to the compass of her voice, which is of a very peculiar nature. It is a complete tenor, something resembling that of Mrs. Kennedy, and produces similar effects. Few women are possessed of this singular faculty, and therefore it is to be prized when we meet with it. The power mostly lies in the low notes, which, of Miss Sims, are round, deep, and capacious. To us they sounded not unlike the under tones of [Madame] Storace. Should the musicians think it worth their while to compose for her, she will make rapid improvement as a singer—that is, if her car be good—of which we are rather in doubt at present.’



Italian-born Madame Stouracce is a British singer Anna Selina Storace (1765–1817), also known as Nancy Storace, with a soprano voice. She was the first performer of Suzanne's part in 'Le nozze di Figaro', written by Mozart especially for her.



A portrait of Sarah Sims as Fanny in 'The Maid of the Mill' was engraved by Alais, after Foster, and published by Roach as a plate to Authentic Memoirs of the Green Room, 1806

After her debut in the role of Fanny, she was accepted by endless applause and (took a place in the main troupe) became a cast member continuing to perform in Covent Garden and Sadlers-Wells.

Thomas Dutton's weekly theatrical publication 'Dramatic Censor' in 1800 reported, 'Miss Sims improves rapidly. Her personation of Young Edward [in Every One Has His Fault] was highly interesting, and replete with feeling. With time there is no doubt but her name will rank in the list of the principal performers of the Theatre. It were only to be wished that her musical talents were better cultivated'.

Success on the London stage paved her an easy way to conquer the province. In the summer season of 1798, she first appeared (on the stage of Birmingham) on stage in Birmingham and then in Liverpool and Bristol. Surviving handwritten document company lists at the British Library and Folger Library show that she was paid £3 per week in 1799-1800, £4 in 1800-1801, and £5 in 1801-2.

Evidently her maiden name was of professional value to her, for she kept it in the playbills for some seasons after her marriage, at St Nicholas, Liverpool, on 26 August 1804 to William Penson, a provincial musician. He was the leader of the musical group at Edinburgh Royal Theater from 1810 to 1816 where Sarah performed for nine seasons, until 1816. By the end of her 20-year career Sarah Sims Penson commanded a repertoire of at least 160 roles, in 'lines' which stretched from pantomime and comic opera through farce and comedy of manners—roles such as Leonora in 'Two Strings to Your Bow', Fanny in 'The Maid of the Mill', Nerissa in 'The Merchant of Venice', Miss Leeson in 'The School for Wives', Zekiel Homespun in 'The Heir at Law', and Cowslip in 'The Agreeable Surprise'. She was the first representative of several characters: Connor in J. C. Cross's pantomime 'The Round Tower', Edwin in his pantomime 'Joan of Arc', Agra in James Cobb's comic opera 'Ramah Droog', Mary in his musical farce 'Paul and Virginia', Nancy in T. J. Dibdin's musical interlude 'The Naval Pillar', Taffline in his musical farce 'St David's Day', Ozora in his interlude 'The Hermione', and Peggy in Thomas Knight's comic opera 'The Turnpike Gate'.

Analysis of her roles during her earlier years reveals the extent to which her success depended on a good voice and a petite figure. She seems not only to have appeared 'to considerable advantage, as a breeches figure,' as the 'Authentic Memoirs' testified, but to have been unusually small, as her assumption of pageboy roles and other children's parts in her maturity shows (Prince Edward in 'Richard III', Paul in 'Paul and Virginia', William in 'Rosina', and so on). 'Arch and waggish parts' were her forte, because of her 'remarkably gay and sprightly disposition.'

The extensive record of her parts in Edinburgh theatre, where she was popular for more than a decade, shows that though she moved into more mature roles like Mrs Candour in *The School for Scandal*, she retained most of her former 'sprightly' parts and added others. There are four songs 'as sung by' Miss Sims at Vauxhall listed in the *Catalogue of Printed Music* in the British Museum.

A handwritten document of unknown origin from the Folger Library refers to Mr. Sims, a theater agent who died on September 19, 1823, at the age of 75.

**House of Call - A place, usually a public house, where journeymen connected with a particular trade assembled when out of work, ready for the call of employers.*

Literature:

A Biographical Dictionary of actors, Actress, Musicians, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800, Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, Edward A. Langhans SIU Press, 1973

Lives of the most celebrated Actors and Actresses, etc. Thomas Marshall (Dramatic Writer), 1848

Another "T" Please

by Jon Lusk

The advertisement at the right was included in issue #75. It startled me, and I grabbed a copy of my book, *British and Irish Tradesmen's and their Copper Tokens of 1787-1804*. It seems that I listed the Middlesex 308 as being issued by **Barnet** (as opposed to **Barnett**) Guest! Which spelling was correct? It didn't take long to discover that indeed it was Barnett. The spelling of the names of issuers is very important to me. (I've had a lifelong interest in correct name spelling – Jon vs John ... for example.)

How did this happen?

The following two items were the first finds during my research efforts. The first listed an insurance policy at 9 Surry Street. The second was an info/advertising piece which I had no reason to doubt. Once I expected his first name to be spelled with only one T it sent me down a path from which I never deviated. I had looked for Barnet, so I found Barnet. The Barnet I did find seemed to have started his business life in Birmingham where he worked with sugar, a "sweet chemist" of sorts. It didn't take much of a leap to project him into being a patient medicine inventor. Then, when he stated in an advertisement that he would carry on his business activities in London in 1794 (the year before his token), I never questioned the spelling of his first name again.

One also wonders if the Barnet Guest I found below in the next ad wasn't just a misspelling of Barnett Guest? The date and his age fit nicely, so who knows? (Notice the mention of druggist.)

OLD BOOTS REGENERATED.

BY a method entirely new, under the direction of BARNETT GUEST, Chymist, at Guest and Co.'s Warehouse, No. 9, Surrey street, Foot of Blackfriars Bridge, Inventor and Maker of Guest and Co.'s PATENT ELASTIC BOOTS, PATENT SHOES, PATENT TRIANGULAR BUCKLES, and PATENT SOLES; the utility of which are fixed on a two years establishment; but in order that all description of men may be enabled to profit by their exceeding durable Soles, they are now determined to Sole and Heel Boots, with this Leather, and if the upper parts are not perished, will make the Legs and Vamps as soft and black as when new: also do further engage to make the Tops look little inferior to what they did at first.

No Boots are taken in, without a written order, for what repairs the owner would have made; as also if they would or would not have the bottoms made water-proof; name and place of abode of the owner is also requested.

[no title] MS 11936/398/628464 14 June 1794

These documents are held at Guildhall Library

Contents:

Insured: Barnet Guest and William Bullock, 9 Surry Street St Georges Road, patent boot makers

People of all denominations, who are afflicted with the Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Lumbago, and all kind of Head-achs, may be perfectly cured of these Disorders in a short space of time, and free of any expence; be instantly freed from the pains attending them, though they be ever so excruciating; no charge being made on the first application here, either for Advice or Medicines, the success of which has been proved by upwards of two thousand Patients, references to whom may be had by applying to BARNETT GUEST, Chemist, Surrey-street, ninth house on the left-hand, leading from Blackfriars-bridge. So that if this account be not true, those who are afflicted with the above Disorders will be enabled to detect the deception; and on the other hand, if true, mankind must allow that it is the greatest discovery yet made in the medical line (no Practitioner or Quack having even pretended to do the like), and every Philanthropist will rejoice, not only at the discovery of these Chemical Restoratives, but also at their being brought forwards on a Plan so liberal, as to do away the doubts of the most obstinate unbeliever.—Attendance here every morning (Sundays excepted) from Nine to Twelve.—To prevent trouble, it is necessary to observe that no Medicines or Medicine is sold here.—Charge for attendance as usual.

Derby Mercury – Thursday 23 February 1786

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Print Download Bookmark Tag Comment Buy Print Page 4 of 4

TO be disposed of, and entered upon at Lady-Day next, that long and well-established TRADE of BARNETT GUEST, DRUGGIST and GROCER, in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, who is going to decline those Businesses, with his House, and most extensive Warehouses thereto belonging, being under Lease for fourteen Years.

B. GUEST returns his most sincere Thanks to his Friends and the Public for the many Favors they have conferred upon him since he has been in Business, and begs Leave to inform them, that he means still to carry on the SUGAR BAKING TRADE at Moseley-Street, Deritend, as usual; and that he has likewise lately taken to a Sugar House in London, where the Favors of his Friends and the Public, will be gratefully acknowledged, which he will endeavour to merit by a steady and expeditious Dispatch of all Orders.

WHenceas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against Barnett Guest, of Limehouse in the County of Middlesex, Merchant, Dealer and Chapman, and he being declared a Bankrupt is hereby required to surrender himself to the Commissioners in the said Commission named, or the major Part of them, on the 20th and 22d Days of September instant, and on the 25th Day of October next, at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon on each of the said Days, at Guildhall, London, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects; when and where the Creditors are to come prepared to prove their Debts; and at the Second Sitting to chuse Assignees, and at the last Sitting the said Bankrupt is required to finish his Examination, and the Creditors are to assent to or dissent from the Allowance of his Certificate. All Persons indebted to the said Bankrupt, or that have any of his Effects, are not to pay or deliver the same but to whom the Commissioners shall appoint, but give Notice to Mr. King, Cutlers Hall, London.

The item on the previous page, lower right corner, mentions the bankruptcy of Barnett Guest, London, in 1788. I guess I shouldn't be too hard on myself, but I did do Barnett a disservice.

Who was the real Barnett Guest?

During all of my searching I really hadn't found out very much personal data about the first Barnett, but once I changed my orientation to two T's, the data hits were plentiful. For basics, he died in January (probably the 22nd), 1820 and he was born in 1743 in the town of King's Norton, a village in Worcestershire that was seven miles south of Birmingham. He apprenticed to John Cope, chemist and apothecary in Birmingham. (Notice the strong Birmingham and druggist ties between the two Guests.)

The first mention I found of Barnett's business life was a patent for the treatment of leather he applied for in October of 1792, and which was subsequently granted in November of that year. It's the kind of recipe that would make one move if they were a neighbor of Mr. Guest because it starts out:

"To render the common sole leather more durable I prepare it as follows, viz^t: - To eight gallons of human urine put one pound of Guinea pepper or capsicum; boil these over a slow fire one hour; then add to this mixture two pounds of common allum and four ounces of sal ammoniac; boil the whole together for ten minutes, and it will be fit for use."

At the time of this patent, 1792, he lived/worked in Saint George's Fields, Surrey on the London Road. This location is a very short distance from his new shop from which he issued his token in 1795 on Blackfriars Road. London Road still exists today and its northern end is the southern start of Blackfriars Road. It would have been a very short move. (See map at end of article.)

While we are discussing streets, his token states his address as N^o 9 Surry S^T Blackfriars Road as if it was at the intersection of these two roads, which is not the case. (A note here: The road seems to be called both Surry Street and Great Surry Street, but I assume that because of the limited space on the token, and perhaps common usage, caused the name to be shortened.) The 1794 business directory listing was as follows:

STROUDS, JAMES, DRUGGIST, 88, Upper Thames-street
Guest, B. Patent Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 9, Great Surry-street,
Blackfriars-road
Guest, Michael. Mercer. 40, Bedford-street. Covent-garden

At the time the token was issued the street name was going through an identity crisis. Twenty six years earlier (1769) the road was called Great Surry (or sometimes Surrey) Street and the bridge it led to was christened the "William Pitt Bridge" (after the Prime Minister William Pitt the Elder). However, the bridge was locally referred to as Blackfriars Bridge because of the area so named at its southern end. (And that area got its name from the monastery that was there where the Dominican Friars wore black robes.) Not unsurprisingly then, the road that lead to the bridge assumed the informal name of the bridge itself. (I've included an ad issued by Guest in 1817 that

The first page of his patent



A.D. 1792 N^o 1914.

Boots and Shoes.

GUEST'S SPECIFICATION.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, I, **BARNETT GUEST**, of London Road, Saint George's Fields, in the County of Surrey, Gentleman, send greeting.

WHEREAS in and by certain Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster, the Thirtieth day of October last, His most Excellent Majesty King George the Third did give and grant unto me, the said **Barnett Guest**, my executors, administrators, and assigns, His especial licence, full power, sole privilege, and authority to make use, exercise, and vend, within England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick-

used Great in the road name.) In 1829 this road, and bridge, officially were labeled as Blackfriars. A historical note: The original bridge was torn down in 1860 (because of poor quality) and its replacement opened exactly 100 years after its predecessor in 1869.

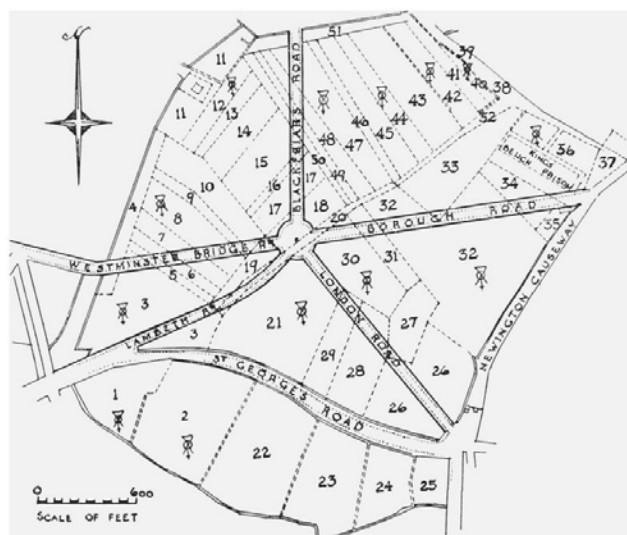
As far as his personal life is concerned, I feel moderately certain that he was the Barnett Guest that married Dorothy Parker in the village of Mancetter, Warwickshire, about 16 miles NE of Birmingham, in November of 1781. This would make him 37 or 38 years old at the time. I can find no indication that the couple had any children. In his will, which was filed within days after his death, it mentions various relatives but no wife, children, or grandchildren. The assumption I make is that any immediate family members predeceased him. The bulk of his estate went to his nephew, also named Barnett Guest, who carried on the elixir business.

There is a 52 page booklet by Guest published in 1809 titled - *A guide from pain to certain ease and perfect health, certified by sixty-four desperate cases, cured by the use of the Guestonian medicines, [etc.]* - publisher T. Page, London. It would be interesting to obtain a copy. As far as "Guestonian" medicine is concerned, it lived a long life, even after the death of the nephew in August of 1833. I found 143 ads for the medicines during the period 1800-1849 with the following distribution:

- 1800-1809 (34)
- 1810-1819 (33)
- 1820-1829 (19)
- 1830-1839 (17)
- 1849-1849 (40)

And a single item in a 1903 ad mentions the availability of Guestonian pills and lotions which was found in the St James's Gazette!

The boot and shoe business is quite a different matter. Perhaps the medicine business was going strong and his urine processed leather a lot less so, but ads or mentions of the boot/shoe business, even during the 1790's, are few. Just the ad from issue #75, that started this whole process.



An early map of St. George's Fields Circa 1760-1770, showing London Road and Blackfriars Road

The last will and testament of Barnett Guest

This is the Last Will and Testament of **Barnett Guest** of **Great Surrey Street Blackfriars Road** in the County of **Surrey** & **Hants** in manner following (that is to say) first I give and bequeath unto my dear wife **Dorothy** Guest the Annual Sum of **forty pounds** to be paid her quarterly for and during the term of her natural life I also give and bequeath unto my dear Brother **Joseph** Guest the Annual Sum of **eighty pounds** to be paid him quarterly for and during the term of his natural life and immediately after his decease the same to be paid equally to his Daughter **Mary** and **Son Joseph** & **Marion** Guest for and during the term of their natural lives and the life of the last survivor I give and bequeath unto my Sister **Mrs Anne** the Sum of **one hundred pounds** and to my Sister **Mrs Sarah** the Sum of **eight hundred pounds** I give and bequeath unto **Deceased Charlotte** Guest **Mary** Guest and **Elizabeth** and Guest the Sum of **three hundred pounds** each I also give and bequeath unto my **Deceased Benjamin** Guest the Sum of **one hundred pounds** whereon I have & hereafter named as an Executor with my **Deceased Barnett** Guest all the rest residue and remainder of my property of whatever the same consist I give and bequeath the same and every part thereof unto my said **Deceased Barnett** Guest & who has for some years past lived with me/ and I hereby nominate and appoint my said **Deceased** the said **Benjamin** Guest and **Barnett** Guest joint Executors of this my last will and testament and I do hereby revoke all former wills by me at any time heretofore made and declare this only to be my last will and testament In witness whereof I the said **Barnett** Guest the Testator have hereunto set my hand and seal the Thirtieth day of November in the Year of our said Lord and King **Edward** the fourth and ten / **Barnett** Guest *[Signature]* Signed Sealed & published and declared by the said **Barnett** Guest the Testator above named and by him published and declared as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who in his presence at his request and in the presence of each other have subscribed our Names as witnesses at **Blackfriars Bridge** /

Proved at London 27th January 1820 before the Reverend **John Adams** Rector of **St Dunstons** by the oath of **Barnett** Guest the Testator one of the said Executors to whom admou was granted having been first sworn duly to administer and make the like Grant to **Benjamin** Guest the Executor the said Executor whom he shall apply for the same /

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR FEBRUARY 1817.

BARNETT GUEST, CHEMIST,

Inventor of the GUESTONIAN MEDICINES,

No. 9, Great Surrey-street, Foot of Blackfriars Bridge,

HAVING resided there for the last TWENTY-ONE YEARS, during which time UPWARDS OF THREE THOUSAND PATIENTS have been restored to perfect health by him, after they had been admitted into the London hospitals, when afflicted with the following complaints, and after having continued there a reasonable time, were then returned from thence without being relieved; the truth of which can be proved by the books of the said hospital, or by the patients themselves, two-thirds of whom reside in London; great part of them have been advertised in the London Newspapers and London Magazines for the last twenty years; consequently, if not correct, they would have been most justly stigmatized by those respectable medical gentlemen that attend those charitable institutions, as they had three powerful inducements for it. In the first place, because it was a duty which they owed to the public; secondly, it was a duty they owed to themselves; and thirdly, their pride would have been so gratified in consequence of it, as to have rendered exposure irresistible.

HOSPITAL CASES AS ABOVE ALLUDED TO.

Mercurial Rheumatism, proceeding from taking mercury to excess.—Agues.	Nervous, Asthmatic, and Consumptive Disorders.	Rheumatic Gout.
Bitious sick Head-aches, and all descriptions of Head-aches.	White Swellings, or scrophulous Enlargements of the Knees.	Contractions, or Weakness proceeding from repeated Paroxysms of the Gout.
Liver Complaints.	Gout.	Old Sprains.
	Rheumatism.	Bruises, &c.

What follows on the next page is the page in my book as it should have looked for the Middlesex 308. [If you had written an article for this issue you would have qualified to receive it in color, giving it a much better presentation. This not so subtle statement is really a plea for material so that we all can enjoy this publication more often.]

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THE TOKEN EXCHANGE AND MART



OUR RULES: CTCC members, in good standing, are cordially invited to dispatch their articles and advertisements to the CTCC editor for publication in the JOURNAL. Articles are always needed and appreciated. Articles are best submitted in MS Word. Articles are always published free of charge for the benefit of the membership. Advertisements are needed and appreciated just as much. Ads up to twelve lines are **FREE!** Full-page ads are \$100; one half-page ads are \$50. Full page ads **must be pdf or Word, all other ads must be Word.** All paid ads **must be paid for when submitted;** thus, eliminating the possibility of confusion and the need for costly, unnecessary, and time-consuming billings and follow up. Ads submitted without full payment will not be accepted or published. Ads or articles may be either accepted or rejected at the discretion of the editor. Only members can participate in the journal.

Journals are hopefully issued three times a year. Your articles and ads must be sent to the editor, Jon Lusk (Jon@Lusk.cc). The only requirement for membership is the payment of an annual membership fee. You will be billed again after you have received three issues of the journal. The "Conder" Token Collector's Club reserves the right to accept or reject (without explanation) any application for membership. The "Conder" Token Collector's Club, reserves the right to revise these rules at any time in accordance with our by-laws.

ANNUAL DUES:

\$25.00 U.S. Membership -- £20 U.K Membership -- \$35 Non U.S. or U.K. Membership.

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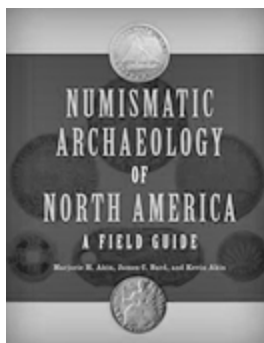
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I Need You!!!

To let me know about your classic token literature. Several members have answered my appeals for information about their Pre WWII token books. Thanks to those kind folks. However, if my book in progress, *The Virtuoso's Arrangement*, is to be anywhere near complete, I need more members to step forward to help. If you own any original books on British tokens of the 18th and 19th centuries, I really need to hear from you. Does your book have a past ownership inscription? Perhaps it has annotations or letters or other ephemera laid in. If it is a numbered edition, which copy is it? I will give you credit or keep you anonymous - whatever you prefer. Thanks for your help!

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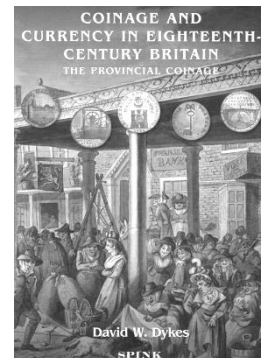
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Available from the author, Jon@Lusk.cc. (400 pages, hardbound, 8½ x 11 -- \$105, free shipping in US for CTCC members) Payment can be made through PayPal, even if you don’t have a PayPal account but are willing to use a credit card, just email me.

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